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which has been imposed upon it against its will, should not be interpreted in any case as an implied recognition of the White award, which the executive power, the Legislative Assembly, and the public opinion of Panama have jointly refused to accept since 1914, the year in which it was rendered.

I do not wish to close, Mr. Minister, without having Your Excellency to take note that the Republic of Panama was enjoying the benefits of internal and external peace, applying itself to work, to the cultivation of the arts and the sciences, and in friendly relations with all the peoples of the earth when suddenly, like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, fell the unexpected and unjustified attack upon it by the Government of Costa Rica.

Whatever may be the result of the mediation interposed by the Government of the United States in the armed conflict which to our grief Costa Rica has imposed upon us, Panama reserves the right of establishing and of making effective in the course of the mediation the responsibilities which Costa Rica has incurred by reason of its unqualifiable attack and of demanding the obligation of indemnifying us for the damages caused and for the expenditures of the defensive expedition which by its fault we have seen the necessity of equipping and organizing.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

ON JANUARY 11 THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT officials announced a virtual state of bankruptcy of the nation and their refusal to be responsible after January 15 for any affairs of state. On that date they said they would put the government in the hands of the Reparations Commission of the Allies. The immediate and specific cause of this unprecedented action was a demand for higher pay by government employees; but the real reason was the collapse of credit within and without the State and the logical consequences of the mutilation of the economic body of the former empire by the makers of the Treaty of Paris. The official Austrian view of the situation created by the Allies is thus stated:

The Treaty of St. Germain required Austria to live upon her own restricted means. Her statesmen informed the Allies this was impossible, but the Allies said she must do so just the same. She has tried and failed, because not only her territory but her credit was withdrawn from her. The treaty forbids us to unite with Germany, and circumstances prevent us from saving ourselves in any other way. We now are at the end of our resources.

Sir William Goode, British member of the Austrian section of the Reparations Commission, commenting January 14 on the situation, said:

I do not wish to appear to be an alarmist, but if the Allies can hold out no prospect of means for continued existence, then I fear we must be prepared for an outbreak that would be beyond the control of any authority that might be left to Austria. It is common knowledge that the Bolsheviks have made elaborate preparations to utilize Vienna as a center of activity and propaganda. They expect their campaign in this part of the world will synchronize with the disappearance of the central government of Austria and spread thence to every country of Europe.

I am convinced that provision of part of the £60,000,000 recommended by the Austrian section of the Reparations Commission can safely be regarded as economic insurance, as compared with the expenditure in which the British Gov-

ernment might be involved in the event of the collapse of Austria. There probably never was a moment in the histories of the French and British governments when it was more difficult to find money. The issue, however, is not merely, "Can we afford the money?" but also, "Can we afford to face the alternative?"

The action hinted at above has not taken place. The Government at Vienna is still functioning in its own impecunious way. American relief funds are saving the masses of the people from extinction. Temporarily the attention of British, French, and Italian statesmen has been diverted from Austria's plight to that of German reparation settlements and to the more critical situation in the Near East growing out of the attempt to revise the Treaty of Sèvres.

PLANS FOR HOLDING A SESSION OF THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS in Paris next September are taking form. The president is Blaise Diagne, a deputy in the French lower chamber from Senegal, and the secretary is W. E. B. Du Bois, of New York, editor of the *Crisis*. Concerning the first session of this congress in Paris, while the Peace Conference was in session, Mr. Du Bois wrote in the issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* of January, 1919. The attendance then was limited compared with what it will be next autumn. Passports were withheld from delegates who had been appointed, and only the intervention of M. Clemenceau thwarted the effort of the British and American governments to sidetrack the movement. This year the congress will have before it the record of success of similar bodies held in Africa itself, such as the National Congress of British West Africa, held in March, 1920; the crystallization of racial ideals and Negro demands in South Africa and the West Indies; and the "Garvey" movement in the United States, led by former West Indians, who are now pouring into the seaboard cities of the United States, especially New York City. Mr. Du Bois, in outlining the program for the coming Paris congress, dwells on the intention of the Negroes to stress their political rights, their economic freedom (especially as landholders), their resentment of caste distinctions and of peonage, and their demand for educational privileges. The wiser British statesmen realize that at last they must face and meet a racial problem similar to that which the United States has known for generations. This is shown by the broad-gauge utterances of General Smuts during his recent campaign against secession of South Africa from British control, and by Lord Milner in his wise handling of the Egyptian revolutionists demanding home rule. Unquestioned "white supremacy" in Africa is being challenged. Native emphasis on democratic rights is looming up to grapple with imperialism based on commercial ambition. A prolific, physically powerful and mentally stimulated black race, stirred by the revolutionary ideas of an epoch which is fermenting new ambitions among the whites and yellows of the world's population, is now bestirring itself.

JAPAN'S HEIR-APPARENT TO THE THRONE, Prince Hirohito, left Yokohama March 3 for a tour of Europe. He is the first of the royal line to leave the kingdom in

centuries. His purpose is to gain the broadening effects of travel as an educational force and also to convey to the heads of governments he visits the felicitations of Japan. Divided public opinion exists at home as to the wisdom of his going forth among Occidentals. Threats and attempts at assassination against Japanese in high places are not infrequent in Tokyo. In and out of Parliament there is fundamental difference of opinion both as to the military policy of the nation and as to its treatment of Korea. Domestic as well as foreign pressure has brought to pass retreat of the Japanese military forces in Siberia from inland to seaport quarters, and also a reduction in the number of troops so employed. Negotiations with the United States over rights of Japanese in the United States have proceeded to a point of common understanding between the negotiators, Ambassador Morris and Ambassador Shidehara; but now settlement of the issues at stake devolves upon Mr. Harding and Secretary of State Hughes, so far as the United States is concerned. They also must work out settlement of the island of Yap mandate controversy, involving, as it does, the profoundly important right of nations to equality of right in "communication" of news. Latest reports from Tokyo do not indicate that Japan will modify the title to this island conceded to her by the Council of the League.

THE TRANSFER OF WINSTON CHURCHILL from the post of Minister of War to that of Secretary for the Colonies may have a decided effect upon the future course of British military policy. Churchill has been least trusted of all the ministry by the Liberals and Labor leaders and he is held responsible by them for most of the "blunders" of Great Britain in dealing with the Russian problem. Lord Milner's departure from the ministry, coming at about the same time, also has its significance not wholly disclosed; but in his case he seems to have suffered from the opposition of former comrades of the Tory group, who were far from assenting to his liberal policy toward Egypt, recommended by the commission which he headed. Failure of the British Government to show any similar liberality has caused a resumption in Egypt, during the past month, of the revolutionary uprisings. With Lord Reading as the newly named viceroy of India, the chief Asiatic possession of the empire will have as its administrative head a jurist of eminence, who at intervals since the war began has shown that he also has unusual gifts as a diplomat and mediator. This fact, together with his unchallenged fealty to the British Premier, no doubt has led to his appointment. Possibly the fact that he is a Jew also may have had something to do with the choice. The United States has sometimes chosen its representatives to Asiatic countries on the assumption that an Oriental with Occidental training can best negotiate with Orientals who have not migrated.

THE PRIME MINISTERS OF THE DOMINIONS will meet in London in June to discuss important problems of the British Commonwealth, as it is coming to be called. Among other subjects to be considered will be (1) renewal of the treaty alliance with Japan; (2) definition of a naval policy based on the principle of co-operation; and (3) consideration of the general course of the Com-

monwealth's foreign policy, and how far the Dominions shall shape it. Being but a conference of executives, any agreement it may reach, at least so far as the Dominions are concerned, must be ratified later by the national parliaments. Whether the British Parliament will insist upon a similar right to veto or approve the decisions of the conference remains to be seen.

THE UNITED STATES' INTERESTS in the Caribbean Sea and in the lands adjacent thereto take on many forms just at the present hour. First, there is the as yet more or less inchoate, but nevertheless not impossible, plan of transfer by France and Great Britain to the United States of islands now part of their domains in settlement of vast debts owed the United States Treasury. Second, there is the outbreak of hostilities between Panama and Costa Rica, which the United States, as a self-appointed mediator, has been trying to compose (see page 116). Third, there is the continuing protest on the part of both Haiti and San Domingo against phases of American "occupation" and financial control. As we go to press a commission of Haiti is in Washington endeavoring to obtain from the new Administration the appointment of a congressional commission to investigate insular affairs, and to secure immediate withdrawal of the military forces of the United States.

PREMIER HUGHES' RECENT AGGRESSIVE ASSERTION of a "White Australia" that must have physical force adequate to enforce its view, if necessary, has contributed to stirring Japanese public opinion and strengthening the militarist party, especially the naval group. Consideration of Japan's aims and conduct must include this fact as well as the attitudes of Canada and of the United States as contributing to her dilemma. Many, if not most, of the leading Australian public men seem to believe that it is at Australia rather than the United States that Japan really aims her conquest, if she at any time decides to challenge the Occidental nations and to assume defense of Asia for Asiatics. Whether this is true or not, the fact that Australasia takes this position must be considered by critics of the United States who assume that she alone is responsible for Japan's militarist policy. Of course, it is a rather fanciful assumption, in the light of well-known facts, to infer that Asia is willing to accept Japanese championship of distinctly Asiatic ends. Neither China, Siberian Russia, with its quasi-Communist government, nor India have come yet to the point where they will let Tokyo speak for them. Indeed, some of the shrewdest students of contemporary Asiatic conditions predict that Japan is nearer a war with Communist Russia than her wisest statesmen care to predict, Russia being on the offensive.

THE TREATY OF SÈVRES not only gave to Greece territory long coveted by her, but it also registered some, if not all, of the pledges of the Allies relative to Turkey's ejection from her seats of power and her control of Christian populations. On no post-war policy had Great Britain, France, and Italy been more in agreement during the war than on the decision to end, once and for all, the rule of the Ottoman, save within a limited area of what had been the Turkish Empire. Now, by the irony of destiny, the malign influence of inter-

national politics, and the divisive influence of national ambitions, the former Allies are sitting in council in London revising the Treaty of Sèvres, negotiating with the two groups of Turks that claim the right to speak for Turkey, and calmly informing Greece that she must retreat from territory which she has held for two years and to conquer which she has borne the brunt of the fighting. The rival Turkish groups, having composed their differences, are quite willing to accept conditionally the terms that the Allies now impose, for they restore much of the territory and more of the political prestige that had been taken away by the Treaty of Sèvres. The Greeks, through their National Assembly, answer "No," and in this attitude the royalists and the Venezelists join. Venezelos, forgetting his recent treatment by the Greek voter, "patriot" that he is, has been in London urging the Greek case on the representatives of the Allies, but without the success he desired. Taking the larger view of the incident, which is only one of many that might be cited, it discloses again to a cynical world the differences of mood and conscience that exist between war and peace psychology, between statesmen who have a military victory to win and statesmen who have a victory to capitalize. During the war all considerations of race, religion, trade supremacy, and nationalistic ambition are submerged in order that an enemy may be defeated; but in "peace-making" by diplomacy and "conference" these "constant" factors in life emerge quickly, and the more violently because so long suppressed. British influence probably will lead to a truce in final settlement of this controversy, while a newly created commission studies the situation anew.

LORD MILNER'S RETIREMENT FROM THE BRITISH MINISTRY has been imputed to his dissatisfaction with the government's treatment of his report on Egypt. It may be that the premier and the more conservative forces of the government could not see eye to eye with the statesman, whose progressive report, in the light of his established record as an imperialist, was the more remarkable. But that the ministry is not unaware of the necessity of doing something more than make "gestures" toward the Egyptian independents and home rulers is shown by the invitation just sent by the Foreign Office to the Sultan of Egypt. It said:

His Majesty's Government, after study of the proposals made by Viscount Milner, has arrived at the conclusion that the status of the protectorate is not a satisfactory relation in which Egypt should continue to stand in regard to Great Britain. While it has not reached a final decision with regard to Lord Milner's recommendations, it desires to confer regarding them with a delegation nominated by Your Highness with a view, if possible, to substitute for the protectorate a relationship which would, while securing the special interests of Great Britain and enabling her to offer adequate guarantees to foreign powers, meet the legitimate aspirations of Egypt and the Egyptian people.

When Winston Churchill, under whose administration Egypt now will fall, arrived in Cairo, March 12, there were popular "demonstrations," indicating clearly renewal of distrust of British policy because of his advent to power over Egypt and over other British "possessions" in the Near East.

## LETTER BOX

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 18, 1921.

EDITOR OF ADVOCATE OF PEACE:

SIR: Rumors of Norway being infected with the virus of Bolshevism once in a while have found their way to the columns of the daily press. But the danger of Bolshevism obtaining a foothold in Norway seems to have passed forever now, after the action taken recently by the moderate Social-Democrats of the country. At a national congress at Christiania on January 16 the moderate group of the Socialist Party agreed, by a vote of 168 to 5, to sever all connections with Moscow and the Bolshevik group and form their own party, the Social-Democratic Labor Party.

The event is expected to have a ruinous effect on Norwegian Bolshevism, which has for some time been able to hold its sway over organized labor, despite the fact that it represents only a minority. The new Social-Democratic Labor Party includes some of the most prominent Socialist leaders, such as A. Buen, president of the Storting, and many of the ablest trade union men, as well as two-thirds of the Labor members of the Storting. The program of the new party extends invitation for membership to all Socialists disagreeing with the resolutions of the Moscow Congress and opposed to membership in the Third International, and probably will be met with liberal support on the part of Norwegian workingmen. The party will open a political campaign for the parliamentary election occurring next fall.

Commenting on this breakaway of the bulk of labor, the Anglo-Norwegian Trade Journal states that Bolshevism in Norway hereafter will be reduced to an empty sound and practically destroyed as a future political factor.

ARNE KILDAL.

## BOOK REVIEWS

WHILE EUROPE WAITS FOR PEACE. By *Pierrepont B. Noyes*. The Macmillan Co., New York. Pp. 99. \$1.50.

This is the plea of the American Rhineland Commissioner from April, 1919, to June, 1920, for action by the United States that will put an end to the process of economic and political demoralization in Europe, which process he has studied on the ground. It is dedicated to Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, for whom the author has much respect and apparent affection. Speaking as one who has shared in the Rhineland occupation by troops of France, Great Britain, and the United States, he says that it is military occupation seen at its best; and withal it is brutal, provocative, and a continuance of war. Its maintenance, as a debt-collecting agency through fifteen years, is unthinkable. He charges France with plotting for separatist movements within Germany, and shows how pressure to induce the American officials to share in this policy was brought to bear and how it was resisted. As for our home policy, he would have organized governmental supervision of credits and exchange so as to make possible American rehabilitation of a European industrial revival. His confidence in the rising power of labor in the world as a political force hostile to militarism is complete. It is this factor plus the "horror of war among the masses of Europe" that he counts upon for ultimate ending of war. His observation is that the masses of Europe are beginning to hate America. Rich, and selfishly talking of "America for Americans" and "Why should we trouble ourselves over Europe's troubles," we are steadily building up a bond of hatred against us that will include Teuton, Gaul, Briton, Latin, and Slav. He would forgive France all her indebtedness to the United States, relieve her fears, and assist her wise men to overcome her chauvinists and republican imperialists. Sooner or later, whether she will or no, the United States must act as an informal "receiver"; and as such she can impose conditions making for enduring peace and for industry where now informal war and economic chaos rule. The fact that this prescription, in its general outline, tallies so closely with the estimates of so many other Americans of first rank as publicists who have seen Europe